

GERD CARLING

Tocharian

Morpho-syntactic structures – Part 2



Adpositional structure



Adpositional structure

- Adpositional phrases are less common than case constructions.
- Several adpositions are frozen case forms.
- Adpositions may be used to emphasize a location already expressed by a case

<i>mām̄tne</i>	<i>kokāśśi</i>		<i>lāmś</i>		<i>tsopatsām̄</i>
just as	ruddy goose/GEN.PL		king/NOM.PL		great/OBL.SG
<i>wr-ā</i>	<i>eṣäk</i>	<i>kṣāly</i>	<i>kṣāly-ac</i>		<i>y-mām̄</i>
water/OBL.SG-PERL	over	leaf/OBL.SG	leaf/OBL.SG-ALL		move-PRS.PTC.MP

”Like the kings of the Koka-[birds] moving over a great water from leaf to leaf.”
(TA, A 155 a1, Literary)

Adpositional structure

- LINEARIZATION: postpositions are most frequent
- Some adpositions can have both positions (pre- and postposing).
- Adpositions generally select for case, but they may select for different cases, e.g.:

B *eṃṣke* Postp. + Oblique = 'up to', Prep. + Allative = 'up to',
Prep. + All. 'from ... away', Prep. + Loc = 'up and into'

Predication



Structural properties: Alignment

- ALIGNMENT: The Tocharian system is almost entirely nominative-accusative, with no tendencies to other systems (ergative etc.), e.g. in a ditransitive construction:

ṣāmani
monk/NOM.PL

aśiyanaṃts
nun/GEN.PL

pelaikne
law/OBL.SG

aksaske=ṃ
teach/3PL.PRS=3PL

“The monks teach the Law to the nuns.”

(PK.AS.18B a4)

Structural properties: Clitics

- Functions of the clitic pronouns, which correspond to the functions of the genitive (except for 1, DO of transitive verbs).
 1. DO of transitive verbs
 2. IO with ditransitive verbs
 3. Non-canonical A
 4. Possessor
 5. Agent in passive constructions

Structural properties: Canonical case marking

- CANONICAL MARKING is Agent (A)=Nominative, Direct Object (DO)= Oblique/clitic pronoun, Indirect Object (IO)=Genitive/clitic pronoun (see previous example).

āñkaräs *lywā=ci*
tusk/OBL.PL send/1SG.A.PRT=3SG

“I have sent you the tusks.” (TA, A77 b1, *Ṣaḍdanta-Jātaka*)

- Alternative ditransitive marking A=Nominative, DO=Oblique, IO=Oblique.

k_vse *(pi)* *ksa* *wesāñ* *kekamor*
who/NOM indeed any/NOM we/GEN arrival/OBL

orocce *lānt* *śa(r)säṣṣi*
great/OBL king/OBL announce/3SG.A.OPT

“Who announces our entrance to the great king?” (TB, B81 b3, *Araṇemijātaka*)

Structural properties: Non-canonical case marking

- NON-CANONICAL CASE MARKING is rare, but found with a handful of verbs, such as TB *kän-* 'come to pass' (of a wish), TB *tsänk-* 'rise, arise', TB *mänk-* 'be deprived of, suffer the loss of, lack', TB *klin-* 'be necessary', TB *täm-* 'be born, come to existence, come up', TA *kän-* NC 'be fulfilled' (C 'fulfil'), TA *näk-* NC 'be extinct, disappear' (C 'destroy'), TA *pyukt-* (NC only) 'be realized', TA *kātk-* 'arise'.

<i>omte</i>	<i>tañ</i>	<i>klyinaṣä<ṃ>=ś</i>	<i>sak</i>
therefore	2SG.GEN	be necessary/3SG.PRS=2SG	happiness
<i>lakle</i>		<i>ritatsi</i>	<i>parktsi</i>
misfortune		seek/INF	ask/INF
			<i>sañkantse</i>
			monastery/GEN.SG

"Therefore it is necessary for you to investigate and find out the happiness and misfortune of the monastery." (TB, Monastery letter, 6)

Structural properties: Null arguments

- NULL ARGUMENTS with weather-verbs, such as AB *suwā-* 'rain' (normally in 3PL) have a first argument.

swese
rain/NOM.SG

suwoy
rain/3SG.A.IPF

cau
DEM.OBL.SG

preke
time/OBL.SG

"At this time it rained."

(TB, B 375 b3, Vardhana-Avadāna)

Structural properties: Possessive

- POSSESSIVE CONSTRUCTIONS are marked by the verbs TA *nas-* TB *nes-* 'be', TAB *mäsk-* 'be, exist' or TB *täm-* 'be born, come to existense, come up' with genitive or clitic.

nauyto=ñ
disappear/3SG.OPT=1SG

yāmor
Karman/OBL

kāntoytär=ñ
tear off/3SG.OPT=1SG

kṣ(ān)t(i) *tākoy=ñä*
forgiveness be/3SG.OPT=1SG

"May Karman disappear from me, and be torn off from me; forgiveness may be for me." (TB, H 149/26.30 b3f.)

Voice and valency change: Passive

- PASSIVE is marked by middle and an Agent in genitive, perlativ or instrumental (TA).
- Genitive is used by infinite verbs (preterite participle, gerund, infinitive) and middle in Passive constructions. The perlativ corresponds to the genitive. In Tocharian A, the animate Agents = perlativ and inanimate Agents = instrumental.

<i>mā</i>	<i>poryo</i>	<i>tskāṃsaṃtär</i>	<i>mā</i>	<i>wär-yo</i>
not	fire-INSTR	burn/PRS.MP.3PL	not	water-INSTR
<i>sikaṃtä(r)</i>		<i>mā</i>	<i>lāñcs-ā</i>	<i>pärtsi</i>
be overflown/PRS.MP.3PL		not	king/OBL.PL-PERL	carry/INF
<i>yāteñc</i>	<i>mā penu</i>	<i>lyäks-ā</i>	<i>kärnätsi</i>	<i>yāteñc</i>
be capable-SUBJ.3PL	not now	thieve/OBL.PL-PERL	buy/INF	be capable

”It cannot be burned by fire, overflown by water, removed by kings or stolen by thieves.” (TA, A 14 a2-3, Puṇyavantajātaka)

Voice and valency change: Middle-passive

- Middle functions can be divided into three types:
 1. Media tantum, i.e. verbs inflected in middle-passive only;
 2. Medio-actives, i.e. verbs inflected as middle-passive in the present, active in the preterite, and mediopassive/active in the subjunctive;
 3. Middle-passives showing matching active forms throughout their entire paradigm.

Voice and valency change: Middle-passive functions

- Reflexive: A *ytäštär* B *yatäštär** ‘adorns (oneself)’.
- Reciprocal: A *kroptär* ‘gathers together’.
- Non-reflexive and non-reciprocal: A *āyāntu kropaṃt* ‘they collected bones’.
- Other functions: Body actions, A *šewiṃtär* ‘yawns’, Emotions, A *šerttär** ‘cries’, Speech actions, B *kwātär* ‘cries’, Spontaneous events, B *kwretär* ‘grows old’, A *šalpatär* B *tsälpetär* ‘crosses, is delivered’, Disruption, A *aratär* B *orotär* ‘ceases’, Motion, A *klawatär** B *kloyotär* ‘falls’ (also of animates), Position, A *tränkäštär* B *trenkastär* ‘is attached’, Physico-chemical change, B *pälketär* ‘burns’, Disruption of material integrity, A *wikatär* B *wiketär* ‘disappears’.

Voice and valency change: Middle-passive functions

- ANTICAUSATIVE: A *ākl-* (active) 'teach', (middle-passive) 'learn',
B *aun-* A *on-* (active) 'meet', (middle-passive) 'begin'.
- PASSIVE functions are marked by middle-passive endings.
Passive values may occur with media tantum (Passive must be determined by the construction).

Voice and valency change: verbals stems

Present	Subjunctive	Preterite
■ I Athematic	I Athematic	I No suffix
■ II Thematic	II Thematic	II Reduplicated
■ III Rootvowel B e A a	III Them.vow. B e A a	III -s-
■ IV Rootvowel B o A a	IV AB -i-	IV -ää-
■ V AB -ā-	V AB -ā-	V -ññ-
■ VI AB -nā-	VI AB -nā-	VI Thematic
■ VII B Nasal infix	VII Suffix AB -ñ-	
■ VIII(ab) Suffix AB -s-		
■ IXa Suffix B -sk-	IX Suffix B -sk- A -s-	
■ Xab B -nā/äsk-, A -nā/äs-	X Suffix B -näsk-	
■ XIab B -sa/äsk- A -sis-	XI Suffix B -säsk-	
■ XII AB -ññ-	XII Suffix AB -ññ-	

Voice and valency change: inherent transitivity

- I Athematic = Transitive/intransitive
- II Thematic = Transitive/intransitive
- III Rootvowel B e A α = Intransitive
- IV Rootvowel B o A α = Intransitive
- V AB -A- = Transitive/intransitive
- VI AB -nA- = Transitive
- VII B Nasal infix = Transitive*
- VIII Suffix AB -s- = Transitive*
- IXa Suffix B -sk- = Basically transitive*
- IXb = Transitive
- Xa B -nA/äsk-, A -nA/äs- = Basically transitive*
- Xb = Transitive
- XIa B -sa/äsk- A -sis- = Transitive/intransitive
- XIb = Transitive
- XII AB -ññ- = Transitive/intransitive
- * = Middle-passive intransitive variants occur

Voice and valency change: combinations of stems

Present	Subjunctive	Preterite
■ I	I, V	I (III)
■ II	II (I, III)	I (III)
■ III	V	I (III)
■ IV	V	I (III)
■ V	V	I
■ VI	V	I
■ VII	V	I
■ VIII	I, II (III, V, VII, IX)	III (II, I, IV, V)
■ IXa	IV, I, II, V	III, I (IV)
■ IXb	IXb (A IX, VII) II, IV	
■ Xa	I, VII, II, III (VI, V)	III (VI, I)
■ Xb	X	II, IV
■ XIa	II, V, IV, XII	I, V (III)
■ XIb		IV
■ XII	XII, V	I

Voice and valency change: causatives

Verb	Intransitive (A a, B e,o)	Transitive (A -s- , B -sk-)
■ AB pränk-	'stay away'	'reject, refuse'
■ AB tsär-	'be separated'	'separate'
■ AB tsälp-	'be free, pass away'	'free from, redeem'
■ A ritw- B ritt-	'be connected'	'join, put together'
■ AB prutk-	'be filled'	'fill'
■ AB yāt-	'be capable'	'bring about, tame'
■ AB tsār-w-	'take courage'	'console'
■ AB nut-	'disappear'	'destroy'
■ AB sätk-	'be spread'	'spread (tr.)'
■ AB plānt-	'rejoice'	'gladden'
■ AB yānk-	'be deluded'	'bewitch'

Voice and valency change: double causatives

Verb	Pres.III	Pres.VIII	Pres.IXb
■ B <i>spärk-</i>	'disappear'	'avoid'	'drive away'
■ B <i>trik-</i>	'be confused'	'be confused, mistake'	'be confused'
■ B <i>wik-</i>	'disappear'	'disappear, pass away'	'put to flight'; 'dissolve'
	Pres.I		
■ B <i>länk-</i>	'hang' (itr.)	'hang' (tr.)	'let hang, dangle'
	Pres.VI	(Subj.I)	
■ B <i>tsärk-</i>	'burn' (tr.)	'torment'	'torture'
	Pres.IV		(Pret.IV)
■ B <i>wāk-</i>	'split' (itr.)	'separate' (tr.)	'separate' (?)

Aspect

- ASPECT dimensions are coded in past tense.
- IMPERFECTIVE is marked by imperfect.
- PERFECTIVE is marked by preterite.

pañäkte phalgumati *cake-sa* *mäskīt(rä)* •
Buddha Phalgumati/OBL.SG river-PERL be/3SG.MP.IPF

(w)ärt(t)oṣṣe *ike-ne* • *aśup* *ṣamānents* *ākṣa*
forested/OBL.SG place-LOC decay monk/GEN-PL tell/3SG.A.PRT

”Buddha was staying on the bank of the river Phalgumatī. In the place of the forest, he taught the impurity to the monks.”

(TB, IOL Toch 127 b7, Vinayavibhaṅga)

Aspect

- PROGRESSIVE is marked by present (cf. Modality)
- RETROSPECTIVE is marked either by the preterite, or by an auxiliary construction with *A nes-* *B nes-*.

<i>maitreyasamiti-nā(ṭk-am)</i>	<i>(guru)darśam</i>	<i>ñom-ā</i>
Maitreyasamiti-Nāṭaka-LOC	Gurudarśana/OBL.SG	name/OBL.SG-PERL
<i>śākṣapint</i>	<i>nipātt</i>	<i>ār</i>
eleventh	act	cease/3SG.A.PRT

“In the Maitreyasamiti-Nāṭaka, the eleventh act with the name (Guru)darśana [‘appearance of the Teacher’] has come to an end.”

(TA, A 253, a5f., Maitreyasamiti-Nāṭaka)

Aspect: usages of imperfect/preterite

- Events seen as more important = preterite, less important events = imperfect.
- Embedded stories = imperfect, events in past tense = preterite.
- Repeated actions = imperfect, individual and momentary events = preterite.
- Narrative texts = preterite, often interrupted by absolutes or historical present.
- Preterite is the usual form in economic and administrative documents for past tense, also in remarks and colophons.

Tense

- PRESENT is marked by the present tense (active or middle-passive)
- PAST is marked by imperfect (Imperfective aspect), preterit (Perfective aspect), or occasionally by a historical present. Periphrastic constructions by *A nas-* *B nes-* and forms of the preterit participle or the gerundive occur as well, to express, e.g., Retrospective.

ñarey-aṃ *tatmuṣ* *nasamäs*
hell/OBL.SG-LOC be born/PRT.PTC.NOM.PL be/PRS.A.1PL

(TA, A 300 b2, Maitreyasamiti-Nāṭaka)

- FUTURE is marked by present, subjunctive or a periphrastic future by gerundive II and present of the copula (*A nas-* *B nes*).

TEXT SAMPLE (A5 A5-B2, PUṆYAVANTAJĀTAKA)

<i>māṃtne</i>	<i>ālyäkyāṃ</i>	<i>praṣṭ-aṃ</i>	<i>ālak</i>	<i>saṃ</i>	<i>pekant</i>
just as	other/OBL.SG.F	time-LOC	other/NOM.SG.M	DEM.NOM.SG.M	painter
<i>yaṃtrācāres</i>	<i>waṣṭ-ā</i>	<i>lokit</i>	<i>yeṣ</i>		
mechanic/GEN.SG	house-PERL	guest	go/3SG.A.IPF		
<i>tmäṣ</i>	<i>säm</i>	<i>yaṃtrā(cāre)</i>	<i>(pe)kāntāṃ</i>	<i>puk</i>	
thereupon	DEM.M.NOM.SG	mechanic	painter/OBL.SG	all	
<i>wäkn-ā</i>	<i>yärk-ā</i>	<i>yāmur-äṣ</i>	<i>oṣeñi</i>		
manner-PERL	honor-PERL	do/VN-ABL	for the night		

‘Just like at another time some other painter went as a guest to the house of a mechanic. The mechanic for the night treated the painter in every way with reverence.’

TEXT SAMPLE (A5 A5-B2, PUṆYAVANTAJĀTAKA)

<i>pkäntäk</i> separately	<i>wašt-aṃ</i> house-LOC	<i>lake</i> bed/OBL	<i>raksā=ṃ</i> cover/3SG.A.PRT=3SG
<i>kuñci{t}ṣiṃ</i> of sesame/OBL.SG	<i>ṣä(lyp-aśśäl)</i> oil-COMIT	<i>(orṣ)ṣāṃ</i> wooden/OBL.SG.F	
<i>yantärṣināṃ</i> mechanical/OBL.SG.F	<i>śomināṃ</i> girl/OBL.SG	<i>śkaṃ</i> also	<i>la{p}-äṣ</i> head-ABL
<i>lyalymā=ṃ</i> make sit down/3SG.A.PRT=3SG		<i>sām</i> DEM.F.OBL.SG	

‘He covered a bed for him in a separate place in his house, (gave) him sesame oil and set an artificial girl at the head [of his bed].’

TEXT SAMPLE (A5 A5-B2, PUṆYAVANTAJĀTAKA)

<i>cami</i> DEM.M.GEN.SG	<i>śla</i> with	<i>wāktasurñe</i> reverence/OBL.SG	<i>oki</i> like	<i>kāwält(une</i> beauty	<i>yärk-ā)</i> honour-PERL
<i>yāmäl</i> do/VN.NOM.SG	<i>yo</i> and	<i>tsar-aṃ</i> hand-LOC	<i>eṃtsus</i> seize/PPRT.NOM.SG.F	<i>paṃ</i> EMPH (?)	
<i>ypā=ṃ</i> do/3SG.A.IPF=3SG	<i>tām</i> DEM.N.OBL	<i>nu</i> and	<i>mānt</i> like	<i>wākn-ā</i> manner-PERL	

‘She, as if with reverence to him [the painter] holding in her hand, as it were, with beauty and honour served him. In which manner?’